

reli Argemí, Escarré, Enric Prat de la Riba, George Orwell, Jack Vance, Zamenhof, etc.; noms de països o geogràfics: Països Baixos, País de Galles, Quebec, Escòcia, Irlanda, Magrib, Egipte, Irak, Síria, Líban, Bagdad, Papua Nova Guinea, Carib, Angola, Moçambic, Camerun, Congo, Vanuatu, Índia; Aragó, Tamarit, Matarranya, Xivert; revistes com: *Treballs de sociolingüística catalana*, *Viure en català...*; associacions com: Gaelic League, Lengua Viua, Nostra Parla, Acció Cultural del País Valencià, Obra Cultural Balear, Òmnium Cultural, Crida a la Solidaritat, Grups de Defensa de la Llengua, Plataforma per la Llengua, a les quals caldria afegir la Federació d'Entitats per la Llengua-Escola Valenciana; i, d'un altre signe, associacions com: Miguel de Cervantes, Foro Babel, CADECA... totes les quals surten esmentades o breument comentades, especialment a l'entrada associacions de mi-

litància lingüística; o bé organismes de planificació lingüística com: l'Office de la Langue Française, Welsh Bwrdd yr Iaith Gymraeg, Eusko Jaurlaritzaren Hizkuntza Politikarako...

Un índex complementari d'aquest tipus ampliaria molt el ventall de les consultes possibles que ofereix realment el llibre.

En conjunt, doncs, tenim a l'abast una obra única, agosarada, altament recomanable per a ensenyants de tots els nivells, de consulta imprescindible en qualsevol departament de català, una eina fonamental per a la gent interessada a introduir-se o aprofundir les qüestions relacionades amb la vida real de les llengües, amb les seves imbricacions en el teixit social, amb la supervivència i convivència de les llengües i, per tant, dels pobles i de les persones que les usen.

ABEL MONTAGUT

Ayo BAMGBOSE (2000): *Language and Exclusion. The Consequences of Language Policies in Africa*. Hamburg: Lit. 152 pages (Hamburger Beiträge zur Afrikanistik, vol. 12). ISBN 3-8258-4775-6.

When in 1974 the French linguist Louis-Jean Calvet published his influential book *Linguistique et colonialisme*, he called the French language in the context of post-

colonial Africa (which he considered to be stuck in a state of neo-colonialism) a «langue exclusive»: ¹ those who did not speak the former master's language were by nature

1. Louis-Jean CALVET (1974): *Linguistique et colonialisme. Petit traité de glottologie*. Paris: Payot.

excluded from power. Newly independent citizens were deprived of certain rights simply because they did not get to learn the country's official language. Ayo Bamgbose, professor emeritus for linguistics and African languages at the University of Ibadan, follows the same line of argument in his most recent monograph titled *Language and Exclusion. The Consequences of Language Policies in Africa*. The Nigerian scholar can be considered as one of the foremost critics of language policies in Africa; in his comprehensive study *Language and the Nation. The Language Question in Sub-Saharan Africa* he amply demonstrated that African language policies are basically little more than a «policy without implementation».² Ten years have passed since, and his verdict still holds true, although changes can be observed. *Language and Exclusion* in this sense offers an update of some of the more recent developments in language policy in Africa, drawing on examples from mostly anglophone Sub-Saharan Africa, in particular from his native Nigeria and South Africa, where in 1998 he gave a series of lectures that the essays in this book are based upon.

Language exclusion can be understood as a product of «elite closure», defined by Carol Myers-Scotton as «a type of social mobilization strategy by which those persons in power establish or maintain their powers and privileges via linguistic choices».³ Bamgbose on his part focuses on «the pervasive effect of exclusion that is attendant on language policies in most African countries» (p. 1), linking the exclusion of parts of the populace mainly to their lack of knowledge of the official language and to illiteracy, and pleading for measures to be taken by the state in order to limit the devastating effects of language exclusion. In chapter one, «Language Factor in Participation and Exclusion», Bamgbose in a somewhat unsystematic fashion draws attention to a number of causes for language exclusion, some being the consequences of state action (language proscription in the form of legislation, choice of official language and choice of medium of instruction in school being the most prominent, but also accordance of majority/minority status, neglect of immigrants' languages, and provisions for the development of literacy), some of an economic order

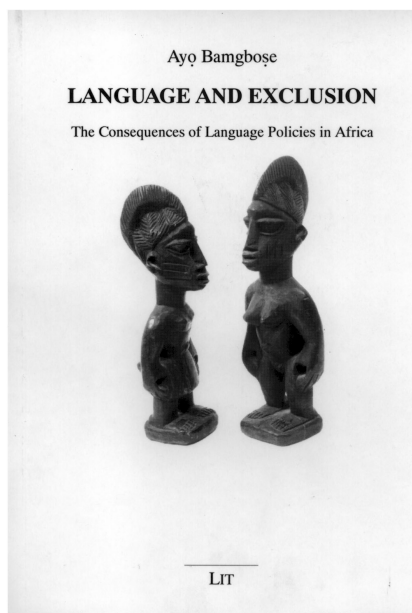
2. AYO BAMGBOSE (1991): *Language and the Nation. The Language Question in Sub-Saharan Africa*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh UP for the International African Institute.

3. CAROL MYERS-SCOTTON (1990): «Elite Closure as Boundary Maintenance: The Case of Africa», in: *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 103, 149-163; quote on p. 149. Bamgbose refers to Myers-Scotton on p. 115.

(language proscription within companies, language requirements in job offers), and some being of psychological nature grounded on general societal beliefs (language stigmatization). He goes on to review possible means that can reduce language exclusion and lead to a more democratic empowerment of the people. He sees little practical value in universal documents such as the «Barcelona Universal Declaration of Linguistic Rights» or the «Language Plan of Action for Africa» adopted by the Organization of African Unity (parts of both are reproduced in the appendix, along with language provisions in the Constitution of South Africa, which can certainly be said to follow one of the most ambitious language policies by having recently granted official status to no fewer than eleven languages). Instead, he favours measures to be taken by the state, that furthermore need to be integrated in an all-encompassing language policy. «Political empowerment entails the concept of participatory democracy, which means the involvement of the largest section of the population in the political process. Language is crucial to this involvement, for the use of a language controlled by the elite will not only marginalize the majority of the population but will make governance undemocratic and unrepresentative, since it will be the exclusive preserve of a minority» (p. 28),

he justly concludes, and the measures he discusses range from language legislation and language development to be ensured by linguists, the adoption of second-language norms in the case of states where a European language is the official language, to the use of African languages in education and general incentives in order to publicize the devised policy and get the public's support.

In the next chapter, «Language as a Resource», Bamgbose states that language does not only serve a communicative function, but also a symbolic one, which he calls «solidarity function» (p. 33). Pleading



for the preservation of endangered languages, he draws attention to the phenomenon of language prejudice, highlighting the fact that language policies will not be successful as long as factors such as prestige are not taken into consideration. An interesting example in this respect is the negative prestige African languages enjoy in South Africa, being linked to the policy of «Bantu education» during Apartheid. Bamgbose himself clearly favours mother-tongue education, but he has to admit that «the enormous prestige that official languages such as English and French enjoy in African countries today is due not only to their utility in education, securing good jobs and advancement, but also to negative prejudice on the part of many Africans who prefer such languages to their own languages» (p. 37). While he judges this attitude to be a consequence of alienation due to the dominance of European languages in African states, he claims that these languages form part of the Africans' heritage all the same. Looking for a compromise that hopefully everyone can live with, he opts for a redefinition of language policy based on the complementarity of European and African languages.

All this, of course, does not come as a surprise, since the question of what languages best serve Africa's

needs has been a controversial issue for decades. But as Bamgbose shows in chapter three, language policies in African countries still suffer from a lack of consistency and implementation, leading to the continuation of forms of exclusion based on language unreconcilable with the spirit of democracy. He lauds the universities for devising means to teach African languages as subjects in schools, but as in the case of adult education, he regrets that not enough political will is deployed in order to enforce the utilitarian value of the mothertongues. Bamgbose, while showing clear convictions, takes a pragmatic stand: not every African language can be functional for education, some speakers of small minority languages will probably never get basic training in their mother tongue, due to constraints such as language development and, most importantly, negative language attitudes on behalf of the people as well as the policy-makers. The policy to be formulated needs, therefore, to be as democratic as possible, but it will never lead to equal opportunities for everyone. As a general policy for eradicating illiteracy and democratizing education, he advocates «the use of an African language as full media of instruction for the entire primary education» (p. 72), an idea inspired by the positive experiences of the Nigerian Six-Year Primary Project, that has unfortunately not

led to similar programmes in other states. In the following chapter, «Language and the medium of instruction», Bamgbose diagnoses «the revival of ethnic consciousness virtually all over the world and demands for cultural authenticity» (p. 76), and wonders why all the UNESCO declarations favouring mother-tongue instruction have proven so fruitless, but basically reinforces certain points made in chapter three.

In his concluding chapter, «Language planning», Bamgbose tries to present a more systematic approach to the African state of affairs. After characterizing the context of language planning as being determined by prevailing multilingualism, the colonial legacy, the challenge of education, the quest for literacy, and the need for national integration and development, he harshly criticizes the activities set forth by African states, especially the lack of systematic procedure, a preoccupation with policy formulation, a lack of devices ensuring implementation, and, last but not least, elite domination of policy-making, illustrating his critique with examples from Malawi, Nigeria, Tanzania, and South Africa. He summarizes by saying, «Language planning in Africa has understandably been largely in the area of language policy formulation» (p. 98). In response to the claim set forth by

some critics that the policy deployed by African governments cannot possibly be considered as language planning, he points out that policy formulation is «one of the four elements of language planning along with fact-finding, implementation and evaluation» (p. 98-99). As agents of language planning Bamgbose lists governmental agencies or ministries, all sorts of language commissions and Centres of Applied Linguistics. Instruments used comprise constitutional clauses, decrees, circulars and other additional regulations. In the more or less private sector, language societies, professional associations, churches, publishing houses and even individuals such as renowned authors can be said to more or less explicitly act out their own language policies. «Language planning in most African countries has always been a top-to-bottom affair» (p. 112), Bamgbose regrets, but in opposition to critics that judge the African state as completely dysfunctional, he still believes in the role of the government, employing as his main argument the strong position African leaders have. But is it not hard to conceive of elite members inaugurating measures to change a linguistic situation that they have so comfortably grown accustomed to? Much of Bamgbose's criticism does not incite too much optimism, but the question remains unasked and, therefore, unanswered.

Language exclusion can be considered a universal in sociolinguistics. Language policies around the world need to be examined by linguists in order to inform decision-makers about possible options that conform to sociolinguistic expertise. Bamgbose gives an overview of the situation in Africa that, by the way, makes for enjoyable reading. Suitable language policies for

African countries are still in the process of being debated. Meanwhile, one can only hope that researchers will come up with strategies that may eventually lead to more linguistic democracy —and convince politicians to take the necessary steps and the people to accept them.

Dirk NAGUSCHEWSKI

Heraclia CASTELLÓN ALCALÁ, *El lenguaje administrativo. Formas y uso*, Granada, Editorial La Vela, 2001, 366 pàgines, ISBN 84-95519-02-x.

La publicació de l'obra *El lenguaje administrativo. Formas y uso* és una notícia excel·lent per als experts en llenguatge administratiu, per als usuaris d'aquesta varietat del llenguatge i per al conjunt dels lingüistes interessats en l'estudi de les variacions que la llengua adopta quan esdevé un llenguatge tècnic, de comunicació especialitzada. El llenguatge administratiu és un dels llenguatges professionals que més antigament va anar adquirint una personalitat diferenciada i ha tingut sempre una importància social molt gran, perquè és el vehicle lingüístic amb què s'expressen les institucions públiques en la seva documentació interna i en les seves relacions amb els ciutadans.

Durant el segle xx la lingüística ha anat evolucionant des de les anàlisis més diacròniques o històriques fins a les més properes als usos con-

crets de la llengua. Això ha redundat en un coneixement de la llengua efectivament usada en cada cas i incideix en l'adopció d'un ús més reflexiu de la llengua, més conscient de les seves possibilitats i de les seves limitacions.

El llenguatge administratiu, a més, va quedar revestit d'unes connotacions negatives quan s'associava a un poder que no era democràtic i hi abundaven, en castellà, formes com «*suplica*» o «*Gracia que espera obtener de V.I., cuya vida guarde Dios muchos años*». Amb el restabliment de la democràcia i el reconeixement oficial del fet plurilingüe a l'Estat espanyol, s'ha produït una profunda renovació del llenguatge administratiu. L'extraordinari llibre d'Heraclia Castellón, col·laboradora de la REVISTA DE LENGUA I DRET, ens ofereix, des d'una perspectiva moderna, una